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CHAPTER 3c

CENTRAL ASIA AND EASTERN IRAN

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I. CENTRAL ASIA ON THE EVE OF THE ACHAEMENID CONQUEST

1. *Geographical survey*

Central Asia consists of three hydrographic basins, namely the Aral Sea to the north, Lake Hamun to the south of the Hindu Kush, and the Lob Nor and Tarim east of the Pamirs. To the first belong the great rivers Syr Darya (Jaxartes) and Amu Darya (Oxus) and the important tributaries of the latter whose waters sometimes run to waste before they join the main stream. The Helmand and the Farah Rud, with their tributaries, belong to the second basin; the Atrak and the area of the Caspian belong to a separate system. The territory is bounded by the Mongol, south Siberian and Kazakh steppes, the Caspian Sea, the desert of Seistan, the Indus basin, the Pamirs and the Himalayas, and the part relevant to the Achaemenids is situated between 55° and 75° longitude east and between 30° and 45° latitude north.

This area can best be divided into a highland and a lowland zone. The mountains include the Hindu Kush, the Pamirs, the Alai, Tian Shan, Altai and their foothills, while the lowlands stretch out along the banks of the Amu Darya and in Seistan, in Xinjiang, Djungaria, Tuva and Mongolia.

Within the highland zone, we must distinguish, because of their different natural resources, between the valleys on one hand and the mountains and plateaux on the other. The high, cool, plateaux provide pasture, means of communication and mineral resources; irrigation in the valleys results in a stable and dense population. In the lowlands, in spite of semi-arid conditions, large-scale irrigation in the broad valleys, deltas and foothills leads to the creation of extensive oases which can support a high density of population over a wide area. Beyond the irrigated zones, the steppes offer the possibility of a little dry farming and of immense areas of grazing. Although this is necessarily a broad outline, it enables us to situate the different satrapies.¹

NB: References to sources and materials are very selective and drawn from recent publications which themselves contain numerous references; preference has been given to works written in a western European language.

¹ B 44, 191-6.



Map 6. Central Asia.

The highland and steppe zone to the north included the territory of the Sogdians (Curtius VII.10.1-3), the Saka *haumavarga* and the Saka *tigrakhauda*. The lowland oases were the territory of the Chorasmians, Bactrians (Curtius VII.4.26-30), Arians, Drangians, Arachosians, Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Sattagydiens, Gandarans and Indians inhabited the boundaries of the sub-continent, while the Gedrosians and Carmanians lived on the coast of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. Central Asia north of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) and east of the Pamir, peopled by Saka and Saka-related tribes, remained outside the administrative divisions of the Achaemenid empire.

2. *The historical background and the Achaemenid period*

In order to establish the historical background, we must rely on written sources and on archaeological evidence, still far from full and incompletely studied.² The written sources are both Greek and Iranian (the Avesta). There are references to Central Asia in the Avestan literature, and in the Mihr Yasht (13-14) we read:

The whole land was inhabited by Iranians where gallant rulers organize many attacks, where high, sheltering mountains with ample pasture provide, solicitous for cattle; where deep lakes stand with surging waves; where navigable rivers rush wide with a swell towards Parutian Iškata, Haraivian Margu, Sogdian Gava, and Chorasmia.³

According to the first chapter of the Videvdat, the country of the Aryans included Aryanem Vaejah, Sughda, Mouru, Bakhdhi, Haroiva, Harakhvaiti, Haetumant.⁴ Generally Parutian Iškata is identified as part of the Hindu Kush and then, to follow the order of the Videvdat, Eran Vež would be Chorasmia (rather than Seistan),⁵ followed by Sogdiana, Margiana, Bactria, Aria, Arachosia and the Helmand. Furthermore, according to other texts, 'the river Dâtyä (Oxus) comes from Eran Vež (Chorasmia) and goes to Subdastan (Sogdiana)'⁶ and 'the land of Gopat (Sogdiana) has a common border with Eran Vež on the banks of the river Dâtyä.'⁷ These fragments seem to go back to a period when, in the early years of the first millennium, Chorasmia was culturally important and may have harboured the beginnings of Zoroastrianism.⁸ Later (eighth to sixth centuries?), when Bactria had become the dominant political power, it also claimed to have been the cradle of Zoroastrianism and the

² See B 561; B 535; B 68, 45-63.

³ Tr. Gershevitch (B 68A, 80-1).

⁴ B 8.

⁵ B 563-4; B 617; B 75A; B 565.

⁶ B 8; G.Bd., 87.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Dad. i Den. 89.

⁸ B 19, I 275, II 278.

Bactrians maintained that Kavi Vishtaspa, the prophet's protector, had been one of their early kings.⁹

The Greek historians, Ctesias and, above all, Xenophon, also knew of a powerful Bactrian kingdom. According to them, this kingdom entertained relations with Assyria and Media. The Assyrian king Ninos, the husband of Semiramis, is said to have led an expedition to Bactria with a vast army, which at first met with defeat in mountainous terrain.¹⁰ Later, the Bactrian king, Oxyartes, was besieged in Bactra, which Semiramis carried by assault. Bactria was rich and well populated, and Ninos captured the Bactrian treasury which consisted of large quantities of gold and silver (Ctesias, *FGrH* 688 F 1.5-7; Just. *Epit.* 1.1-2; Arr. *Anab.* VI.24). According to Xenophon (*Cyr.* 1.5.2, V.1.3), there were Assyrian expeditions in the time of Cyaxares and, under his successor Astyages, the Assyrians sent embassies to the king of Bactria. The Bactrians sided with the Medes against the Assyrians and took part in the capture of Nineveh (Diod. II.26.1-2). Finally, Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F 9.2) tells us that the Bactrians submitted to Cyrus only because they considered him Astyages' rightful heir.

From these half-legendary fragments we can nevertheless deduce that during the first half of the first millennium a Bactrian 'kingdom' may have been one of the political powers of which the Assyrians and Medes had some knowledge.¹¹ The Achaemenids, therefore, were not venturing into unknown and virgin territories when they set out to conquer Central Asia. Diodorus' account (II.6-7, following Ctesias) of the campaigns of Ninos and Semiramis implies that the Bactrian kingdom was well known for its numerous and warlike population, for its cities, fortresses and riches.

This view of the situation is not confuted by archaeology, although it is not always easy to define the characteristics of the culture which immediately preceded the Achaemenids.¹² Achaemenid culture in Central Asia is rooted in a distinctive local tradition and differs markedly from what we find in Persia.¹³ The Achaemenids did not found Bactra, they did not invent irrigation, they did not create the civilization of Central Asia, but they coveted its riches when their time came. When they moved into Central Asia, it was not to raid and pillage, in the old Assyrian way, nor to colonize, after the Greek fashion, nor was it an invasion in the Kushan manner. We shall now consider the form which the Achaemenid incursion did in fact take.

⁹ References in B 108, 186-8; Yt. 5.109, 112f; 9.29f; 13.101; 17.49f; 18.87: (Justin, *Epit.* v.1; Zoroaster king of Bactria). ¹⁰ See B 144; B 604. ¹¹ B 24, 13-43.

¹² B 611 on Bactria; B 597 on Turkmenistan. ¹³ B 541; B 588.

II. THE ACHAEMENID CONQUEST, ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND EXPLOITATION OF CENTRAL ASIA

1. *The conquest of Central Asia by Cyrus II*

Some authorities have dated this conquest to between 547 and 540 on the basis of a passage in Herodotus (I.178), which states that, when he conquered Babylon in 539, Cyrus had already brought 'into subjection every nation without exception' and this must therefore have included Central Asia.¹⁴ There are two major drawbacks to this earlier date: first, this would mean that Cyrus had to undertake two major campaigns against Central Asia, one before and one after the capture of Babylon; secondly, this contradicts another passage by Herodotus himself. In this other passage (I.153), the 'Father of History' states that Babylon, the Bactrians, the Sacae and the Egyptians were on Cyrus' route. Here the order in which the regions are listed seems to conform to the sequence of Achaemenid conquests: Babylon (539), Bactria, Saka (530 and death of Cyrus), Egypt (Cambyses, 525). For this reason we would favour putting Cyrus' expedition into Central Asia between 539 and 530 B.C.

The whole of Central Asia was not won by conquest, however; between 550 and 547 the remnants of the Median empire fell into the hands of Cyrus. In this way, after the defeat of Astyages, 'when the rule of the East passed from the Medes to the Persians', Parthia came into the victor's possession (Just. *Epit.* xli.1.4). According to Xenophon (*Cyr.* I.1.4), Hyrcania transferred its allegiance voluntarily. The historians of antiquity make no mention of Aria, but control of this region was an essential preliminary to any conquest, whether to the north or to the south of the Hindu Kush.

South of the Hindu Kush, it is the later authors, Arrian and Pliny, who give us some glimpse of Cyrus' movements. The former tells us (*Anab.* III.27.4-5; cf. Curt. VII.3.2) that in the land of the Zarangians (Drangiana) Alexander came across a people named the Ariaspae, also known as the Euergetai ('benefactors') as a result of the help they had given Cyrus in his expedition against the Scythians. The latter (*NH* VI.92) refers to Cyrus as capturing Capisa, a city of Capisene or Arachosia; according to legend, in so doing he was yet again following in the footsteps of Semiramis who also came to Arachosia (cf. Steph. Byz. s.vv. 'Ἀραχωσία, Θύαμις).

North of the Hindu Kush, Bactria, as we have seen, was said to have been a monarchy at the time Cyrus gained control of it. We do not know what became of this kingdom, but Ctesias tells us that the Bactrians and

¹⁴ On the conquest see B 155, 48-9, with references to the relevant ancient sources; B 144, 51-73.

the Persians fought an indecisive battle and the Bactrians, seeing in Cyrus the heir to Astyages, rallied to him of their own accord (cf. above, p. 169). These brief references may perhaps reveal an earlier political situation in which a Bactrian kingdom was linked by a system of political alliances or allegiances with the Assyrians and the Medes; from the moment they rallied to Cyrus, however, the province of Bactria was part of the Persian empire and was governed by satraps. Margiana was incorporated into the empire at the same time and is always referred to as a dependency of Bactria.¹⁵ In Sogdiana Cyrus founded the city of Cyropolis on the Jaxartes (also Cyreschata = *Kuruškatha, present-day Leninabad¹⁶), together with seven fortresses for the defence of the northern frontier against the nomadic Saka (Strab. XI.11.4; Arr. *Anab.* IV.3.1; three cities in Just. *Epit.* XII.5). Chorasmia appears in the list of provinces entrusted to his younger son (Ctesias, *FGrH* 688 F 9.8). After he had conquered Bactria, he subdued the Amyrgians.

The Saka *haumavarga*, as they are called in Old Persian inscriptions, or Amyrgian Saka (Hdt. VII.64.2), joined the Achaemenids after their king (Amorges according to Ctesias) had been captured by Cyrus and then released thanks to the intervention of his wife Spharetra (*FGrH* 688 F 9.3). Some authorities believe that the Saka lived in an area not far from the north west of India, in the mountains near present-day Afghanistan, towards Badakhshan and the Pamirs.¹⁷ Ctesias (F 9.7–8) tells us that 20,000 Saka *haumavarga* cavalry joined Cyrus on the expedition against the Derbikes which was to cost him his life. The Derbikes and their Indian allies used elephants in the battle and were defeated, but Cyrus was mortally wounded by a spear. He lingered for three days during which he organized his empire and appointed a satrap, Spitaces son of Sisamas, over the Derbikes who thereupon disappear from the history of this area. According to Berossus (*FGrH* 680 F 10), Cyrus was killed in the valley of Daas (Dahae?), while Herodotus (I.204–14) tells us that he met his end when he was fighting the Massagetae of Queen Tomyris, after crossing the Araxes (= Amu Darya?); 200,000 Persian soldiers died with him and he was beheaded. It is difficult here to separate fact from fiction, and we shall therefore abstain from opting for one version of Cyrus' death in preference to another.¹⁸

Three points emerge from the little we know of Cyrus' conquest, the importance of the Median heritage, the political strength of Bactria, and the warlike potential of the Saka in the north-east corner of the empire. These last two points will remain valid throughout the political history of Central Asia.

¹⁵ The Bisitun inscription, paras. 38–9, provides the earliest evidence.

¹⁶ B 529; B 599.

¹⁷ B 590, 156–74. ¹⁸ B 557.

2. *Cambyases and the accession of Darius I: the revolts of 522–521*

Cambyases devoted the greater part of his reign to the conquest of Egypt, and only once do his actions have any bearing on the history of Central Asia. This is when he assassinated his brother Bardiya (see above, p. 53) who, since the death of Cyrus, had been governor (*despotes*) of the Bactrians and their country, of the Chorasmians, Parthians and Carmanians,¹⁹ or, alternatively, of the Medes, Armenians and Cadusii.²⁰ After Darius came to the throne in September 522, some of the series of risings which faced him took place in Central Asia: in Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia and Scythia (DB para. 21).

In Parthia and Hyrcania, the revolt was crushed by the satrap Hystaspes, father of Darius, in the battles of Vishpauzatish (8 March 521) and Patigrabana (12 July 521) (DB paras. 35–6). In Margiana, a certain Frada was proclaimed king, but was overthrown by Darius' satrap in Bactria, the Persian Dadarshish, in a battle on 10 December 522. 55,000 Margians were killed, and 8,500 captured; 'this was what was done by me in Bactria' concluded Darius (DB paras. 38–9).²¹ Meanwhile, the satrap of Arachosia, Vivana, inflicted a series of defeats on the Persian Vahyazdata, calling himself Bardiya, one of which, at Kapishakanish in March 521, was decisive (DB para. 45). Many historians have attempted to elucidate the reasons for these revolts, behind the Achaemenid royal propaganda which is given full rein in the Bisitun inscription. A possible reason lies in the dynastic struggles between the senior and the cadet branches of the Achaemenids, but, on a political and social level, we cannot rule out the part played by anti-Persian and, perhaps, anti-aristocratic feelings among some subjugated peoples.²² Some have used the huge number of 55,000 Margian dead as evidence of a popular revolt.²³ This point remains obscure; what is clear is that Bactria fulfilled a 'policing' role for Darius and brought Margiana back to its traditional state of dependence. South of the Hindu Kush, Arachosia, under its satrap Vivana, was also a stronghold for Darius, but it is possible that the fighting there involved only Persian troops.

3. *The stabilization of Central Asia under Darius I and Xerxes I (520–465)*

The final round of Achaemenid conquests in Central Asia was accompanied by a more efficient organization of the empire. These conquests involved Saka territory and the Indus Valley. Darius'

¹⁹ B 621, 26, interpreting Ctesias F 9.8.

²⁰ B 155, 92, following Xen. Cyr. VIII.7.11.

²¹ The figures are from the Babylonian version. The Aramaic version (B 78, 34–5) has [5]5,24[3] killed, 6,972 prisoners. ²² B 49. ²³ B 49, 207 n. 937.

campaign against the Saka took place in 519;²⁴ an account of it is given in the Bisitun inscription (DB para. 74, only in the OP version) and by Polyaeus (*Strat.* VII.11.6).²⁵ Darius attacked the Saka *tigrakhauda* ("pointed-hat Scythians"), who lived around the Aral Sea, and made his army cross the Amu Darya on a bridge. Skunkha, the Saka chief, was captured, and Darius appointed another chief to lead the tribe. Thenceforth, these Saka *tigrakhauda* appear in Achaemenid inscriptions.²⁶ On the other hand, the Saka (*tyai*) *paradraya* (Saka beyond the sea) who are mentioned in some inscriptions (e.g. DN^a 28-9, A²P 24) cannot be precisely located within the great Eurasian steppe which lies to the north of the Caspian and the Aral.²⁷ The Dahas of Xerxes' 'Daiva' inscription (XPh) are perhaps to be situated to the north of Hyrcania where the Dahas mentioned by more recent writers are later to be found; the name may also be an alternative term for the Saka *paradraya*.²⁸ The Saka *para Sugdam* appear only in two inscriptions of Darius (DPH; DH) and their proposed location in Ferghana or east of the Pamir is not certain.²⁹ Expansion in the Indus basin is discussed in the next section (below, pp. 201-5).

Side by side with conquest and exploration (see above, p. 98) went the reorganization of the empire along more efficient lines, which confirmed the original role of Bactria as the mainstay of the empire in Central Asia.³⁰

An Irdabanuš is apparently satrap of Bactria in 500/499 (PF 1287, 1555).³¹ In a late version of Xerxes' accession (Plut. *Mor.* 173B, but see 488D) the rival claimant Ariamenes is said to come from Bactria.³² In the campaign of 480 Xerxes' army included a contingent of Bactrians and Amyrgians under the command of his full brother Hystaspes (Hdt. VII.64). Another brother, Masistes, whom he gravely offended,

went to Bactria with his sons and others to secure the revolt of the province and do the king great harm. And in this, I think, he would have succeeded, had he reached the Bactrians and Saka; for he was beloved by them and was governor (*hyparchos*) of the Bactrians.

But Xerxes had him assassinated on the way (Hdt. IX.113). Finally, after the death of Xerxes in 465, Artaxerxes I was obliged to quell a Bactrian rising. After one indecisive battle, the Bactrians were defeated because the wind blew dust in their faces (Ctesias F 14.35). According to Ctesias their general was called Artabanus, a name which occurs in the royal

²⁴ B 155; B 49, 130. Other datings, e.g. 517 (B 620), rest on outdated readings of DB.

²⁵ According to B 41, against the Scythians of Europe, the same expedition as that of Hdt. IV.83ff; this new interpretation discussed by B 88. ²⁶ See B 104; B 44, 239 n. 8; B 145.

²⁷ See B 590, 160-1, B 181; cf. B 234, discussed by B 41, 85-6. They are possibly in Europe: B 547, 97-8. ²⁸ B 595, 143-5. ²⁹ B 590, 169-70. ³⁰ Cf. B 578, 89 n. 1, 93.

³¹ A 35, 19 n. 96.

³² B 155, 231-2.

family, and probably the same name as that of the satrap of 500/499; Diodorus (XI.69.2), who does not have the revolt, makes Hystaspes son of Xerxes satrap of Bactria at the time.³³

It seems, therefore, that Bactria, as the political mainstay of the Achaemenids in Central Asia, was frequently the apauage of princes of the blood. This was, however, a policy which cut both ways, since the Bactrians were always willing to give armed support to the claims to the throne of their satrap who was, to some extent, their 'suzerain'. Nevertheless, the Achaemenid rulers found this policy successful since their younger brothers could find an outlet for their frustrations and the whole of Central Asia remained within the same administrative framework – a framework which we can define best during the reigns of Darius and Xerxes.

In a reconstruction of Achaemenid administrative geography, our principal sources are Achaemenid cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions and the lists of Herodotus. In Table 3 the order of the columns is that of the Bisitun inscription. From this table, the principal fact to emerge is the great stability of the empire and its provinces, once Darius had added India, the Saka *tigrakhauda* and, briefly, the Saka *paradrava* and *para Sugdam* to what he had inherited from Cyrus. The omission of Arachosia from Herodotus' lists and the absence of the Sattagydiars from Xerxes' army should not be construed as a defection of these provinces from the empire, but merely as a lack of accuracy on Herodotus' part or in the information at his disposal, leading to the omission of a word or perhaps its replacement by the Sagartians, Thamanaeans, Utians and Paricanians whose exact location is in doubt.³⁴ The absence of Gandara in the list on Darius' statue may mean that it was included with India or Sattagydia.³⁵ The provinces of the empire, corresponding as they did to entities of population,³⁶ remained remarkably stable, and this provides the justification for studying the economic role of Central Asia in the Achaemenid empire as a whole, regardless of chronological evolution.

4. *The part played by Central Asia in the Achaemenid empire*

The Achaemenids made Central Asia one of the bastions of their power. For this purpose, they called on the human and material resources of these regions which could be exploited thanks to an excellent level of communications.

³³ B 155, 290; A 35, 19 n. 96.

³⁴ These controversial problems relating to historical geography have been discussed by B 553; B 593; B 546; B 602; B 95; B 530; B 603; B 590, 156–74; B 22, 185–90.

³⁵ See the discussion in B 167. ³⁶ B 40.

The men of Central Asia were recruited by the Great King as soldiers and as workmen. The Persepolis Fortification Tablets mention Bactrian workmen (perhaps used for irrigation works) receiving flour from Darius' administration (PF 1947:59-63) and rations given to Sogdians (PF 1118, 1132, 1175, 1629). Darius also enrolled Saka into his army and, at the battle of Marathon, these soldiers, together with the Persians, broke through the Athenian centre (Hdt. VI.113). After this campaign had ended in failure, Darius ordered recruitment on a vast scale throughout the empire and this was completed by Xerxes (Hdt. VII.61-99). The huge army set out with its infantry contingents of Bactrians, Amyrgian Saka, Arians, Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarans, Dadicae, Caspians, Sarangians, Pactyans, Utians, Mycians and Paricanians. Sagartians, Bactrians, Caspians and Paricanians also served in the cavalry, while Saka were used as marines in the navy. Saka, Bactrians and Indians are particularly mentioned among the troops left in Greece with Mardonius in winter 480/79 (Hdt. VIII.113). It is probable that Central Asia was not particularly affected by the heavy military, particularly naval, losses of 480-479 and that most of the soldiers returned peacefully to their homes. Special levies like this and the few garrison troops here and there in the empire, for instance, Saka at Deve Hüyük in Syria,³⁷ and in various other theatres of operation,³⁸ did not seriously affect the man-power of Central Asia. On the other hand, the exploitation of natural resources for the profit of the Achaemenids weighed much more heavily on the inhabitants of the eastern satrapies.

At first, under Darius, taxes seem to have been paid in kind, but this impression may be due to our lack of information about actual tribute as opposed to the symbolic tribute, such as the participation of all the nations in the building of the palace at Susa or at the 'New Year Festival' at Persepolis. Later, under Xerxes, contributions are in precious metals, perhaps because we are now dealing with actual tribute. It is difficult to interpret this difference in economic terms, as marking the progress of a monetary economy.³⁹ However this may be, these taxes show that the Achaemenid exchequer was well aware of the resources of Central Asia.

Taxes in kind are listed in the foundation documents of the palace at Susa (DSf, DSz),⁴⁰ and are depicted on the reliefs of the Apadana at Persepolis; for the identification in these we shall adhere to the most widely held views.⁴¹ The Bactrians (Delegation XIII) brought gold,

³⁷ B 588, 204; B 496 (north Iranians according to him); B 547.

³⁸ B 543, 197: Persepolis, Gordium, Al Mina, Carchemish, Marathon. Dargman the Chorasmian stationed at Elephantine; Cowley, *AP* 6. Military colonists from Central Asia in Babylonia: B 547, 95-105; in Asia Minor: B 537, 89-96.

³⁹ B 34, 2-4, exaggerating the sharpness of the change to silver in Persepolis' texts; see B 81.

⁴⁰ B 207. ⁴¹ B 214; B 101, 95-113; discussion of the identifications by B 140.

Table 3. *The Central Asian provinces: evidence and identifications*

Darius (522-486 B.C.)				Xerxes I (486-465 B.C.)		Artaxerxes I (465-423 B.C.)
DBI Bisitun	DPe Persepolis	DNa Naqsh-i Rostam	Statue of Darius at Susa	XPh Xerxes	(Hdt. VII.64f) Army of Xerxes	(Hdt. III.221f) Herodotus' list of tributaries
Marguš <i>Μαργιανή</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—
El'ken-Tepe (?) Parthava <i>Παρθία</i>	Parthia	Parthia	x	Parthia	Parthians	Parthians
Dahan-i Ghulaman (?) Zranka <i>Δραγγιανή</i>	Drangiana	Drangiana	x	Drangiana	Sarangians	Sarangians
Herat (?) Haraiva <i>Ἀρειά</i>	Aria	Aria	x	Aria	Arians	Arians

Kalaly-Gyr (?) Uvarazmiš Χωρασμίη	Chorasmia	Chorasmia	x	Chorasmia	Chorasmians	Chorasmians
Balkh (?) Bakhtriš Βακτριανή	Bactria	Bactria	x	Bactria	Bactrians	Bactrians (as far as as the Aegli)
Afrasiab (?) Suguda Σογδιανή	Sogdiana	Sogdiana	x	Sogdiana	Sogdians	Sogdians
Saka	Saka <i>para Sugdam</i> (DPh 6) Saka	Roshan (?) Saka <i>haumavarga</i> (DNa etc) Saka <i>tigrakhauda</i> (DNa etc) Čirik Rabat (?) Saka <i>paradrava</i> (DNa)	Saka of the marshlands and plains	Saka <i>haumavarga</i> Saka <i>tigrakhauda</i>	Amyrgian Scythians	Sacae (+ Caspians) Orthocorybantes (?)
Thataguš (?) Σατταγυδία	Sattagydia	Sattagydia	x	Sattagydia	—	—
Kandahar (?) Harauvatis Ἀραχωσία	Arachosia	Arachosia	x	Arachosia	—	—

camels, metal vessels wrought by goldsmiths; the Sogdians (Delegation xvii) lapis lazuli, carnelian, daggers, bracelets ornamented with protomes, axes and horses; the Saka (Delegation xi) horses, bracelets ornamented with protomes, three-piece garments (trousers, tunic and coat); the Chorasmians turquoise (DSf); the Arachosians (Delegation vii?) stone mortars and pestles,⁴² ivory, vessels, camels, feline skins; the Arians (Delegation iv) the same; the Parthians (Delegation xv) vessels and camels. This list enables us to gain some impression of the huge accumulation of riches which filled the Achaemenid treasuries.⁴³

Taxes in precious metals (silver talents) are also eloquent testimony, and are sometimes supplemented by donations in kind. Herodotus' list (iii, 90-6) dates from the reign of Artaxerxes I. Bactria alone brought 360 talents; the Sattagydiens, Gandarans, Dadicae and Aparytae 170 talents; the Sagartians, Thamanaeans, Utians and Mycians 600 talents; the Paricanians and the Ethiopians of Asia 400 talents; the Saka and the Caspians 250 talents; the Indians 360 talents of gold dust (see below, p. 204); the Paricanians and Orthocorybantes (together with Ecbatana and Media) 450 talents. In spite of these surprisingly large figures, such as 600 talents from the present Seistan, and in spite of the appearance of Paricanians in two different parts of the text, it seems very likely that Herodotus drew his information from an official Persian fiscal document.⁴⁴ We must therefore give some credence to this list and can thus obtain some idea of the huge scale of Achaemenid exploitation which produced 2,530 talents of silver from the eastern satrapies.

A good network of communications was an essential prerequisite for draining these resources. The countries 'paid me tribute. What I commanded, whether by night or day, this they did,' proclaimed Darius on the rock inscription at Bisitun (DB para. 7). Thanks to the roads and the secretariat, riches travelled to the treasuries at Susa and Persepolis, and men marched to battle.

Details 'from Ephesus to Bactria and India: the number of stages, days and parasangs' were given in a lost fragment of Ctesias (FGrH 688 F 33). The Avesta (Yt. 10, 15) praises the roads and bridges of the land of the Aryans; the Greeks admired the Great King's postal system (*angareion*) (Xen. *Cyr.* viii.6.17). Bactria and India, which marked the end of the great royal road to north and south of the Hindu Kush, are referred to on the Persepolis tablets. Travellers carried sealed documents from Bactra to Susa (PF 1555), from Susa to Gandara (PF 1440, 1450), from Arachosia to Susa (PF 1351, 1439, 1953:34), from Arachosia to the king (PF 1443, 1474, 1484), from the king to Arachosia (PF 1510) and to Aria

⁴² B 18, B 12, discussed by B 51. See also above, p. 85 n. 63.

⁴³ On these treasuries, see B 21, 48-98; B 22, 204-26.

⁴⁴ *Contra*, B 1, 127-37, holding that Herodotus worked from the map of Hecataeus of Miletus.

(PF 1361, 1540). Royal officials gave them rations for the journey, and some travelled with their guides or a large escort (588 men and 100 mules from Aria to Susa; PF 2056; see below, p. 205).

Military contingents, riches and information travelled rapidly towards the capitals of the empire, but the traffic was not only in one direction, and people were sent by the Achaemenid kings to Central Asia, in addition to administrative officials maintaining liaison with the satraps.⁴⁵ First, there were exiles from the Greek world who travelled along the road to Bactria (Hdt. vi.9.4). The Branchidae of Miletus sided with the Persians in 494 and had to be moved to safety from Greek reprisals. They were sent to Sogdiana, where they settled and thrived (Curt. vii.5.28–35; Diod. xvii, contents table).⁴⁶ The Barceans of Libya, under Darius, were also settled in Bactria (Hdt. iv.204), but there is no further mention of them.

However, the material traces of the Persian presence in Central Asia are slender. Some darics have been found at Samarkand and Kerki;⁴⁷ eighteen Athenian coins in the Oxus Treasure (*IGCH* 1822),⁴⁸ while the hoard of the Chaman Huzuri of Kabul contained 8 Achaemenid sigloi, 14 Indian punch-marked coins, 64 Greek coins and 29 of a previously unknown type (*IGCH* 1830).⁴⁹ 170 Athenian coins were found at Balkh (*IGCH* 1820),⁵⁰ bent bars at Mir-Zakah and Jalalabad,⁵¹ and, finally, an Achaemenid bronze at Kyzyl Tepe.⁵² These few finds indicate that a monetary system had not yet been fully imposed on Central Asia and that Greek coins played an important part when such exchange took place.⁵³

In Chorasmia, at the huge site of Kalaly Gyr, archaeologists have excavated a palace which probably belonged to a Persian (the satrap?) or to a Chorasmian influenced by Iranian culture (Fig. 6). A hypostyle hall has been unearthed, of which the columns have torus moulding and stand on a stepped plinth; a rhyton decorated with the protome of a horse and the cast of a fragment of a griffin's head in the style of Persepolis have also been found.⁵⁴ To the catalogue of Persian objects found in Chorasmia there can only be added another rhyton,⁵⁵ a ring adorned with a lion,⁵⁶ and a seal.⁵⁷ The inventory for the whole of Central Asia can be completed with the mention of a few column-bases in Persian style but often of Hellenistic date⁵⁸ and of finds of Achaemenid style from the

⁴⁵ B 537, 66–8. ⁴⁶ Cf. B 520, 159–61; B 531, 123–5. ⁴⁷ B 595, 158.

⁴⁸ B 641, 18–21, knows in Tadzhikistan only 16 Athenian coins and adds 3 from Acanthus, 3 Byzantium, 1 Celenderis, 6 Aspendus, 15 imperial Achaemenid, 11 from local rulers (1 of Pixodarus, 2 from Ephesus (Memnon), 1 Tiribazus, 1 Pharnabazus, 2 Datames, 4 Mazaeus), and, from Phoenicia, 1 Aradus, 2 Sidon and 2 Tyre. ⁴⁹ B 176, 3–6, 31–45. ⁵⁰ B 630.

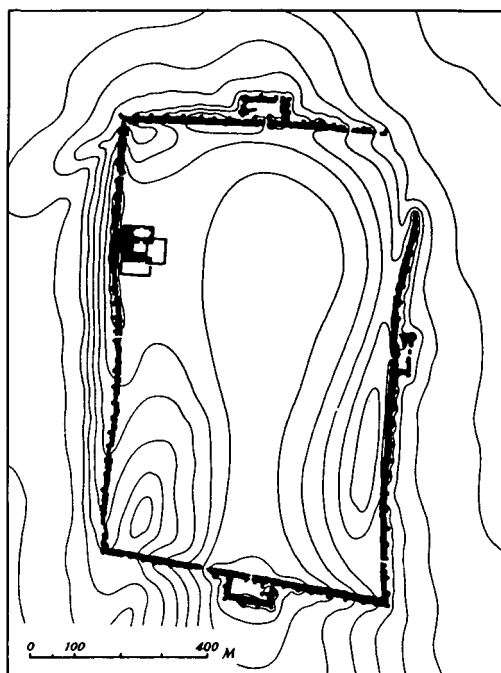
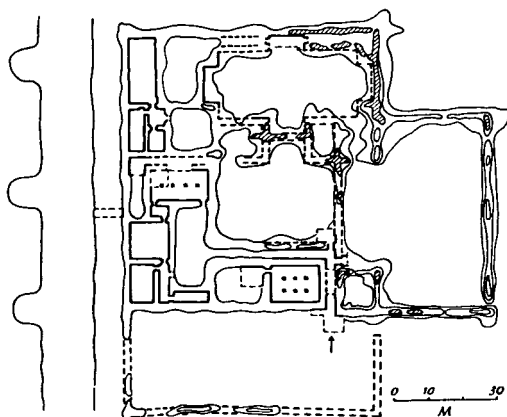
⁵¹ B 519, 203. ⁵² *Arkh. Otkr.* 1977, 533.

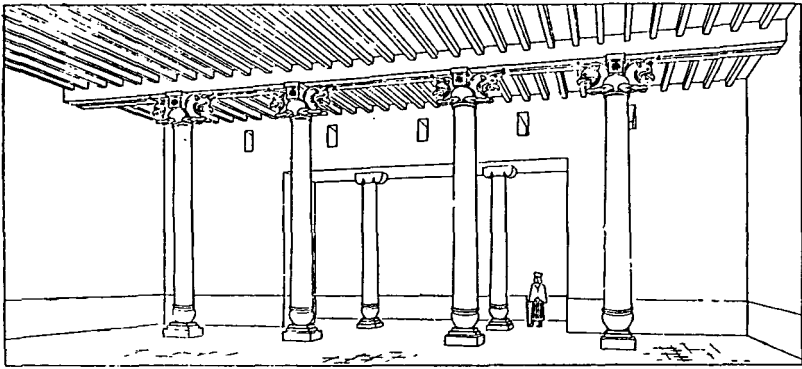
⁵³ B 176, 18–19; B 641, 20.

⁵⁴ B 627, 141f. ⁵⁵ B 628, 111 with fig. 47.

⁵⁶ B 635, 84 no. 4. ⁵⁷ B 631, 210–11: Cirik Rabat.

⁵⁸ For instance at Gyaur Kala in Chorasmia and Ai Khanoum in Bactria.

*a**b*



6. Kalaly Gyr: site (a) and palace (b), plans and reconstruction (c). (After B 607, 142 fig. 1, 145 fig. 2, 148 fig. 4.)

Hellenistic excavations at Ai Khanoum,⁵⁹ at Takht-i Sangin,⁶⁰ and from the Saka tombs at Issyk in Kazakhstan,⁶¹ at Tuura-Suu in Qirghizia⁶² and at Pazyryk,⁶³ where *kurgans* II and V contained objects with Achaemenid affinities (Fig. 7). A small bronze statue discovered in a destroyed *kurgan* in Xinjiang also finds parallels in the art of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 8),⁶⁴ as do some petroglyphs from the upper Indus.⁶⁵ Some chance finds of small objects such as the Oxus Treasure,⁶⁶ one gold bowl from Altai and the Bukhtarma deer⁶⁷ can be mentioned; see p. 191. In spite of the gaps in our information, it seems that Persian cultural influence, outside the field of administration, extended to architectural style (at least in the satrapal capitals), to the minor arts, and perhaps even to the adoption of Aramaic writing, although no surviving inscribed material from this region is earlier than the Hellenistic period, except for one fragmentary Elamite tablet from the Kandahar excavations. It is uncertain whether what we have are survivals of a more extensive civilizing influence or simply provincial reflections of the art of the court and the chancery practices of the great capitals. The examination of the civilization of Achaemenid Central Asia will correct the old theories which credit the King of Kings with the introduction of irrigation, urban development, indeed civilization into Central Asia.

⁵⁹ B 556, 26–7 pls. 15, xiv (rhyton), 32–4 pls. 16, xv no. 20 (frieze of lions, painting), 58–9 pls. 21, xxii, no. 29a,b (bronze *repoussé* plates), 78–9 pls. 27, xxxv, no. 0.397 (Greco-Persian chalcidony scaraboid), 122–3; B 571. ⁶⁰ B 605; B 591 (arrow-heads, bronzes, ivories).

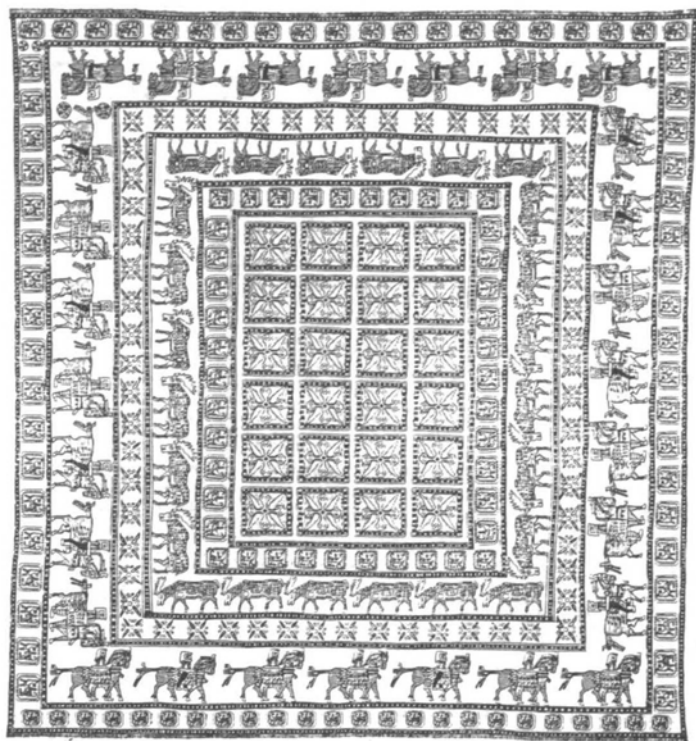
⁶¹ B 516, 89 (fig.) 114–15, etc. ⁶² B 585, 73–6, fig. 27 (gold figurine of an antelope).

⁶³ B 575, 80–138; B 610, pl. 174 (Pazyryk V, carpet); p. 297, fig. 139 (Pazyryk V, cult scene); pl. 177, p. 298, fig. 140 (Pazyryk V, frieze of lions) etc.

⁶⁴ B 639, fig. 90; found in the valley of the Gongnaisi, an affluent of the Ili. But it may be a product of the early Hellenistic period. ⁶⁵ B 577, 13–14, pls. 4, 5.

⁶⁶ B 545; to which can be added some isolated objects: a seal from Kabul, B 554; others at Merv and Afrasiab, *VDI* 1947, 4, 127–35; a weight found near Bust, *East and West* 1968, 277–80.

⁶⁷ B 619, 196–7, nos. 189, 190.



7. Carpet from Pazyryk, *Kurgan V*. (After B 575, fig. 103.)



8. Bronze statue from a *kurgan* in Xinjiang. The pose and features seem western, the helmet a version of the Greek 'Phrygian' helmet. Fourth century B.C.? Height 0.42 m. (After B 639, fig. 90.)

III. THE ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF CENTRAL ASIA IN ACHAEMENID TIMES

The beginning and the end of the Achaemenid phase will not be discussed here; the dating of the finds is not precise enough for that. According to many writers, the so-called 'Achaemenid' assemblage in Central Asia could begin as early as the beginning of the seventh or even the eighth century. This period is characterized by the appearance of a distinctive type of white wheel-made pottery whose distribution coincides with Central Asia as we have defined it. Parthia-Hyrcania and Seistan are within the Iranian sphere of influence (pottery of the plateau);⁶⁸ the northern and north-eastern borders belong to the steppes (hand-made wares), while the pottery of India is again different. It is therefore Bactria, Margiana, Sogdiana, Aria, Arachosia and Chorasmia which form the kernel of this cultural entity.

1. *Irrigation agriculture*

The economy of these regions rests, first and foremost, on irrigation agriculture, but animal husbandry and arts and crafts are not to be ignored.⁶⁹

The irrigation network of this period was not new and a large part of it dated back to the Late Bronze Age.⁷⁰ In Chorasmia, towards the middle of the first millennium, two zones of irrigation can be distinguished, one along the lower Oxus (on the left bank, that of Kalaly Gyr and Kjuzeli Gyr, and, on the right bank, that of Dingil'dže and Kanga Kala) and one along the lower Jaxartes (the area around Babiš Mulla and Čirik Rabat).⁷¹ In Margiana, the oasis of Merv, Aravali and Jaz Tepe were irrigated.⁷² In Arachosia, at least Kandahar⁷³ and Mundigak⁷⁴ were occupied, as were Dahan-i Ghulaman⁷⁵ and Nad-i Ali⁷⁶ in Drangiana. In Bactria, the deltas of the rivers in the piedmont zones were all occupied, in the oases of Bactra, Altyn,⁷⁷ Kutlug Tepe,⁷⁸ At Chapar,⁷⁹ Tillja Tepe⁸⁰ and, in eastern Bactria, the valleys of the Oxus tributaries such as the Kunduz river and the Kokcha, with the site of Kunduz and the plain of Aï Khanoum respectively.⁸¹ North of the Oxus, the valleys of the Vakhsh, Kafirnigan, Surkhan Darya and Sherabad were occupied (Kobadian, Džandavlat,

⁶⁸ B 541.

⁶⁹ See in general B 584, 178-203, which gives an up-to-date and complete overview from archaeological data; 338-40, on the importance of irrigation (figs. on pp. 455-7).

⁷⁰ At least in the Murgab, the oasis of Bactra and in Chorasmia.

⁷¹ B 521, 35 fig. 6, 151-63, 116-25, 185-200. ⁷² B 595; B 594, 63-8.

⁷³ B 638, 32-3; B 592, 44. ⁷⁴ B 540. ⁷⁵ B 616. ⁷⁶ B 544.

⁷⁷ B 613, 107ff; Altyn Dilyar: B 586, 12. ⁷⁸ B 613, 107ff. ⁷⁹ B 615.

⁸⁰ B 612. ⁸¹ B 560, 132-7.

Kučuk, etc.) where such large sites as Kyzyl Tepe and Bandykhan Tepe were situated.⁸² In Sogdiana, the Zerafshan valley at Afrasiab (Marakanda),⁸³ the lower Zerafshan⁸⁴ and the valley of the Syr Darya⁸⁵ were also inhabited. At this period irrigation canals were about 10 m wide, shallow and up to 30 to 60 km long. The networks are made up of successive offshoots from the main canal with secondary, tertiary and quaternary channels defining the boundaries of the fields.⁸⁶ The fertile loess, when properly irrigated and worked, produced generous quantities of wheat, barley, millet, oats, sesame and grapes (analyses from Dingil'dže and Kučuk). Grain would be stored, at a domestic level, in silos dug below the floors of farms and in jars, thus taking care of daily requirements and of surpluses.⁸⁷ Animal husbandry, as practised by the sedentary population of Chorasmia, involved cattle, sheep and goats, pigs, donkeys, horses and camels. It has been held that cattle, predominant in the seventh century, had declined, by the fourth century, in favour of sheep and goats, but no explanation has been offered.⁸⁸ As for horses and camels, there is no need to stress the importance of Central Asian stock, well known from the Persepolis reliefs as well as post-Achaemenid texts. These animals were reared, not only on stubble and fallow land, but also on the vast uncultivated steppes which separated the oases and were traversed by nomads.

Some light has been thrown by the antiquities of their tombs on the pastoral economy of these nomads, from Chorasmia to Mongolia. The Saka of Chorasmia (*tigrakhauda*, Massagetae?) seem primarily to have been engaged in horse rearing and sheep rearing,⁸⁹ and so were the Saka of the Pamirs and of Ferghana (*baumavarga*?) in the high upland pastures.⁹⁰ The Saka and related peoples of Qirghizia,⁹¹ Tian Shan,⁹² Altai,⁹³ Tuva,⁹⁴ Mongolia,⁹⁵ Xinjiang,⁹⁶ etc. and the Saka of Kazakhstan (*paradraya*? *para sugdam*?)⁹⁷ seem to have the same economic system. The animal rearing regions of the steppes and the mountains, and the agricultural regions of the plains and the valleys interlocked in such a way that it is difficult to trace a true frontier between them.⁹⁸

The arts and crafts of Central Asia were based on the exploitation of mineral resources (clay, stone, metals) and on the treatment of organic materials, which in too many cases have left no trace. Clay was abundant

⁸² B 551; B 632; B 608, 265; B 596, 19-24, 25-30, 93-103; B 523; B 609. ⁸³ B 538, 7-59.

⁸⁴ B 572.

⁸⁵ B 640; B 528 (culture of Čust and Eylatan); B 600; B 552, 164-76 (Šaštepa, culture of Burguluk and Kaunši). ⁸⁶ B 521; B 562, 116-25. ⁸⁷ B 635, 207f, 52-83.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; B 539, 108; B 523, 82-4 (different conclusions). ⁸⁹ B 626; B 633, 127ff.

⁹⁰ B 590, 174f, reaching the upper Indus valley. B 577, 13-15. ⁹¹ B 585; B 623.

⁹² B 533, 40-5, 185f; B 582. ⁹³ B 610. ⁹⁴ B 568; B 570. ⁹⁵ B 634; B 601.

⁹⁶ B 636. ⁹⁷ For the latter see DPH; B 517, 129ff; B 518, 50-5.

⁹⁸ And between nomadism and simple transhumant pastoralism; B 575, 126-8; B 22, 203-25; B 566.

in all areas and was the material from which the 'Achaemenid' pottery was made. This pottery was so widespread that the repetition of similar shapes – for instance, the goblet – appears to indicate common feeding habits. Kilns were situated in specialized areas of the oases (Margiana, Chorasmia).⁹⁹ Stone was little used in architecture, and we shall confine ourselves to semi-precious stones. Chorasmian turquoise was worked where it was mined or in the neighbouring oases (Dingil'dže), and also near other sources in Sogdiana, in the craftsmen's quarters of Marakanda.¹⁰⁰ The lapis lazuli of Sogdiana is attested by numerous bead finds, but no lapidary's workshop of this period has been discovered in Central Asia. Carnelian was also extensively used and may have come from Chorasmia.¹⁰¹ Alabaster and serpentine were quarried in Arachosia.¹⁰² Metals are the material for jewellery, weapons and tools. Bactrian gold was doubtless obtained by panning the mud deposits of the Oxus, and silver was mined in the same province (Ctesias, *FGrH* 688 F 45.26).¹⁰³ Gold was also extracted in Kazakhstan and southern Siberia.¹⁰⁴ Copper had been exploited for millennia throughout Central Asia, but not one deposit worked at this period has been located, except in Kazakhstan (Džezkasgan for example), South Siberia and Tuva, in areas which are supposed to have had a nomadic population, and in the neighbouring Ili valley of Xinjiang.¹⁰⁵ Iron mines are no better known, but foundries have been discovered in Chorasmia (Dingil'dže),¹⁰⁶ in Parthia (El'ken Tepe)¹⁰⁷ and in Sogdiana (Marakanda),¹⁰⁸ and the manufacture of weapons, jewellery, tools and pieces of harness by Central Asian smiths is well attested.

Besides trade and exchange within the borders of the Achaemenid empire, it seems that the part of Central Asia under Achaemenid rule was in contact with Saka tribes who were in touch with China (see the finds of *kurghans* II and V of Pazyryk and of Xinyuan and Alagou in Xinjiang). On the other hand, a general northern exchange-route has been supposed to have existed *outside* the limits of the empire, linking Europe and Central Asia¹⁰⁹ in a way that is far from clear.

The economic production of Central Asia cannot, therefore be compared to the fabulous wealth of India, Babylonia and Egypt. Nevertheless, the high level of production, and the balance which seems to have existed between the exploitation of agricultural and of mineral resources, supported a large population, and this population was kept militarily active by a permanent and dangerous contact with the turbulent world of the nomads of the steppe. These conditions led to the

⁹⁹ B 595, 26–7; B 635, 212. ¹⁰⁰ B 635, 58–9; *Arkh.Otkr.* 1976, 524–5.

¹⁰¹ B 635, 211; B 532. ¹⁰² B 12. ¹⁰³ B 532. ¹⁰⁴ B 575, 184–203.

¹⁰⁵ Margulian in B 518, 3–42; B 637. ¹⁰⁶ B 635, 211–12. ¹⁰⁷ B 579.

¹⁰⁸ *Arkh.Otkr.* 1976, 524–5. ¹⁰⁹ No decisive arguments are given by any author.

creation of a surplus in production and of a warlike potential which the Achaemenids could not ignore and which they were able to turn to good account. A famous passage in which Herodotus describes the Great King profiting by irrigating a plain belonging to the Chorasmians (III.117) illustrates this. More light can be thrown on these matters by a closer study of the social organization of Central Asia.

2. *Social organization: nomadic tribes and sedentary 'feudalism'*

We can gain some idea of how the society of Central Asia was organized by studying settlement patterns, architecture and the information supplied by texts. Only the settlement patterns of sedentary populations are available for study, and among them we can distinguish between fortified and open settlements. Fortified settlements may be cities or fortresses.¹¹⁰ True cities (occupying an area of more than 15 hectares) were to be found in the principal oases of Central Asia: Erk Kala in Margiana, El'ken Tepe (Vishpauzatish?) in Parthia, Bactra (Zariaspa) and Altyn Dilyar in Bactria, Kyzyl Tepe, Bandykhan Tepe and Talaškan Tepe in northern Bactria (in the Surkhan Darya valley), Kunduz (Drapsaka?) in eastern Bactria, Afrasiab (Marakanda) and Cyropolis in Sogdiana, Kyuzeli Gyr, Kalaly Gyr, Bazar Kala in Chorasmia, Ćirik Rabat in the territory of the Aral Saka, Kandahar (Kapishakanish?) in Arachosia, Artakoana in Aria, Eilatan and Shurabashat in Ferghana. Charsada, in Gandara, was also fortified. The ramparts of these cities were often circular. The walls which have been excavated consist of several superimposed galleries and are punctuated by semi-circular towers with arrow-slits for defence by archers. The cities were densely populated, and in some of them investigators have found a palace (Kalaly Gyr) (Fig. 6), a monumental building (at Kjuzele Gyr, covering 285 sq. m), a citadel (Talaškan Tepe); elsewhere we know that they functioned as administrative centres (Marakanda and Bactra, for example).

The fortresses are known as such both from textual references in the Alexander historians and from excavation. Government strongholds, such as that founded by Cyrus on the Jaxartes (above, p. 171), can be distinguished from the forts of the Sogdian lords,¹¹¹ where a whole population could seek refuge in time of danger, together with its flocks and supplies. Thus the fortified settlement may be for the officials and troops of the Great King or for local lords and their retainers.

The greater part of the population lived in unfortified oasis villages and townships. There are 285 settlements known for Chorasmia alone, each grouping eight to fifteen houses set fifty to a hundred and twenty metres

¹¹⁰ B 555; B 584; see nn. 77-9 above. ¹¹¹ B 520, 168-9.

apart.¹¹² In Margiana¹¹³ and in the delta of the Tedžen,¹¹⁴ many small settlements of about a hectare have been discovered, but we know little of the open settlements of Bactria. Nevertheless, the general principle of the structure of this rural settlement, detected by all investigators, is that it develops along irrigation canals and is never far from an important locality, which might be a citadel or at least an administrative centre, when it is not a true town.¹¹⁵ Canals and administrative centres were the two poles round which settlements seem to have gravitated.

Civil, religious and funerary architectures provide some indication of social life and hierarchy. Unbaked pisé or mud-brick was the universal building material. Civil architecture in Chorasmia shows great variations in the size of properties (from 600 to 3,000 sq. m including courtyards and gardens) and of actual houses (from 100 to 200 sq. m). The traditional Chorasmian house, measuring 16 by 10 m, consisted simply of two or three rooms set on either side of a passage. The farm excavated at Dingil'dže qualifies as a small manor, for it has six rooms,¹¹⁶ and houses of a similar size have been found in Drangiana at Dahan-i Ghulaman.¹¹⁷

In Bactria,¹¹⁸ the 'Summer Palace' at Altyn (4,400 sq. m) (Fig. 9) and the 'Winter Palace' (1,296 sq. m) are large houses with a simple layout, consisting, in one case, of rooms arranged around a courtyard and opening off a passage and, in the other, of a range of rooms to one side of a colonnaded courtyard.¹¹⁹ In its earliest form, the site of Kutlug Tepe near Bactra consisted of a single rectangular room.¹²⁰ Kučuktepa, north of the Amu Darya, had eleven rooms within a rampart which enclosed some 60 to 125 sq. m.¹²¹ The Kyzylcha-6 manor has eight rooms surrounding a courtyard (c. 400 sq. m).¹²² There are therefore marked differences in the forms of private houses, and these are merely a reflection of differences of fortune, power and rank.

Religious architecture is little known with the exception of a stepped cult-platform found at Pačmak Tepe in Bactria¹²³ and of a fire temple at Dahan-i Ghulaman in Seistan, where altars and a columned building were excavated.¹²⁴ One possible cult-building with evidence of cremations has been excavated at Pšaktepa (Uzbekistan).¹²⁵ These tell us nothing about the priestly castes. Funerary architecture is more illuminating, though our knowledge is almost confined to the Saka. On the lower Jaxartes, at Tagisken, there are mausolea of the seventh to fifth centuries, consisting of a square room inscribed in a circle.¹²⁶ At Čirik Rabat there are two monumental mausolea, one square and one circular,

¹¹² B 635, 212f.

¹¹³ B 595, 63-92; B 635.

¹¹⁴ B 515, 2, 58f.

¹¹⁵ B 595, 151-63; B 635, 3-15.

¹¹⁶ B 635, 212f.

¹¹⁷ B 616.

¹¹⁸ In general see B 611.

¹¹⁹ B 613; B 614, 101-3, figs. 45-6.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ B 523, 18, 20, 24.

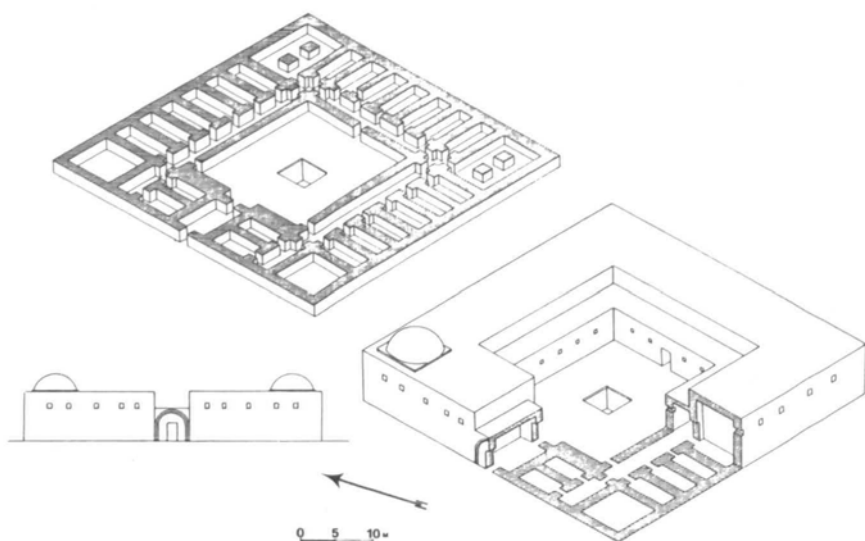
¹²² B 584, 351, 187-9.

¹²³ B 606, 32-8, fig. 2.

¹²⁴ B 616; B 618.

¹²⁵ B 522.

¹²⁶ B 626, 77-88, 202-3.



9. Altyn-10, structure II; reconstruction of Summer Palace. (After B 614, fig. 45.)

which recall the first, fourth-century, state of the mausoleum of Koj Krylgan Kala in Chorasmia.¹²⁷ At Uġarak, Saka, probably nomads, were buried in pits covered by tumuli.¹²⁸ In the Pamirs, burials took place in pits or cists,¹²⁹ while in Kazakhstan, on the Ili, archaeologists have excavated Saka *kurgans*.¹³⁰ The necropoleis of the Ili, Tian Shan, Alai, Altai, Qirghizia, Mongolia, Tuva, Siberia, Xinjiang and Ferghana are all considered to have belonged to nomads;¹³¹ the *kurgans* can be very elaborate, with heights of up to 6 m and diameters up to 60 m, with internal wooden chambers and wooden sarcophagi. On the other hand, no necropolis has been found in satrapies where the population was sedentary (except the Pšaktepa building (?) and burials in Ferghana and in the Bukhara oasis).

The Saka of the lower Jaxartes (*tigrakhauda?*, *paradraya?*), who were not all nomads, have left monumental funerary structures which indicate important hierarchical differences, but differences in wealth, which was probably reckoned in terms of horses and sheep, were only reflected in the contents of the nomadic tombs by the presence of funerary deposits of varying quality and quantity. In Kazakhstan, Siberia and in the Altai, the differences in the funerary inventories are better attested by

¹²⁷ B 626, 139–54; B 628. ¹²⁸ B 633.

¹²⁹ B 390, 7–27, 132–4. Burials in cists are thought to be earlier. ¹³⁰ B 317; B 316.

¹³¹ The literature is abundant and concerns the cultures called: Saka; Wusun; Xiongnu; Aldy-bel'; Saglyñ (Tuva); Pazyryk, Mañemir (Altai); Tasmola (Kazakhstan); Tagan (South Siberia).

excavations and much more substantial (including a number of sacrificed horses). Fortunately, textual evidence can be drawn upon to supplement the information obtained from excavation and to throw light on the society both of nomadic and of settled peoples. Nomadic society was tribal,¹³² and in certain tribes women seem to have enjoyed a privileged social position differing from that of their sedentary counterparts.¹³³ Among the settled population, the irrigation networks created one type of functional hierarchy and dictated another – that of the settlement patterns based on these networks and grouped round centres. These functional hierarchies are reflected in a social hierarchy which can, by analogy, be termed ‘feudal’.¹³⁴ In 329 in Bactria and Sogdiana, Ariamazes, Chorienes, Catanes, Haustanes, Spitamenes and Oxyartes were aristocratic local lords who could call on substantial resources of fighting men and material goods.¹³⁵ These fighting men were mobilized in the service of their ‘suzerain’, the satrap, whom they followed in all his undertakings, or, in normal times, in the service of the King of Kings who levied tribute and contingents of troops.¹³⁶ In the same hierarchical manner, the four circles of primitive Iranian society can be listed in ascending order as follows: *khvaetu* (*nmana*), the family; *verexana* (*vis*), the village and clan; *soithra* (*xantu*), the tribe, and *dahyu*, the nation.¹³⁷ Each circle was most probably led by a chief, and Darius gave himself the title “King of the Nations (*dahyu*)” which can be understood as Persia, Media, Bactria etc.¹³⁸ Seen as a whole, therefore, the social hierarchy of Achaemenid Central Asia seems clear, but there were other functional divisions relating to priests, warriors, farmers and herdsmen.¹³⁹

3. Central Asian culture in Achaemenid times

The functional tripartite division into priests, warriors, farmers and herdsmen, forms a convenient basis for this discussion. As the economy (agriculture and animal husbandry) has already been reviewed in the previous two sections, together with crafts, we shall now consider in greater detail war, religion and art.

Thanks to the Persepolis reliefs¹⁴⁰ and the statuettes from the Oxus Treasure, our knowledge of the costume and weapons of Central Asian warriors is fairly detailed. They all wore clothing suitable for riding, otherwise worn only by the Medes and the Cappadocians. Essentially, this consisted of trousers which were close fitting around the ankles or

¹³² Cf. B 580–1. ¹³³ B 548. ¹³⁴ B 13; ‘barons’; B 21.

¹³⁵ A 59, I 60–72; B 21; B 537, 84–8.

¹³⁶ At the battle of Arbela, the Saka came because of their *symmachia* with Darius III (Arr. *Anab.* III.8.3). ¹³⁷ B 11, 293–319. ¹³⁸ *Ibid.* ¹³⁹ B 67, 85; B 11, 288–9; B 19, I 5–7.

¹⁴⁰ B 214; B 167 (see n. 41 above for the problem of identification).

were fitted with straps under the feet. They were shod with moccasins (Parthians, Saka, Sagartians, Sogdians and, sometimes, Bactrians) or with boots (sometimes Bactrians, and Arians, Drangians and Arachosians). They wore a knee-length tunic, which was either straight and closed or open with lapels, cut like a frock-coat (Sogdians, Chorasmians, Saka *haumavarga* and *tigrakhauda*), but was always fastened by a belt at the waist; sometimes a cloak with long, narrow sleeves was added. They wore a cap which covered the ears and which generally had a drooping point (*bashlyk*), though the Saka had caps with upright points¹⁴¹ and a simple hairband is also found. This was the costume of the steppe horsemen, also known by the Issyk and Pazyryk finds, adorned with gold and embroideries. Gandarans, Indians and Maka, who were not among them, wore simple kilts.

All soldiers carried the *akinakes* or Scythian dagger, picks, cane or Scythian bows, and for the Saka and Sogdians there was the war-axe (*sagaris*). The excavation of tombs of the Aral, Kazakhstan, Altai and the Pamirs has brought confirmation of this description¹⁴² and has produced evidence of parts of the breastplates¹⁴³ and scale armour (Çirik Rabat)¹⁴⁴ which must have completed the panoply of the cataphracts of Central Asia.¹⁴⁵ Various items of jewellery, such as ear-rings, bracelets and metal ornaments (belt buckles, etc.) in the animal style, will have enhanced the appearance of some of these fierce warriors.¹⁴⁶ Some fought on foot, though precise details are lacking, but mostly they fought on horseback. Their horses belonged to breeds of repute, and were harnessed and decked out in style, as is amply demonstrated by tomb materials and artistic representations. They rode without stirrups, seated on rugs, and either charged the enemy with spears or harassed them with showers of arrows.¹⁴⁷

The religion of the peoples of Central Asia can be to some extent deduced from their funerary customs, from the archaeological evidence of a few cult centres, and the written evidence of the Avestan religious tradition. The Saka buried their dead, sometimes directly, sometimes after removing their flesh, or embalming or cremating them.¹⁴⁸ Removal of the flesh without inhumation is attested textually (Strab. x.11.3) for Bactria of the late Achaemenid period, but we must once again stress the fact that no 'Achaemenid' necropoleis are known except in the Saka marches of Central Asia. The most ancient ossuaries (fifth to third centuries B.C.) have been discovered at Tarym-Kaja in Chorasmia.¹⁴⁹ Among these Saka, horse burials, cannabis-smoking installations,¹⁵⁰ and

¹⁴¹ B 628; B 516, 47. ¹⁴² B 633, 83-119; B 590, 83-131; B 516; B 610.

¹⁴³ B 590, 125-31 (doubtful). ¹⁴⁴ B 626, 148-50. ¹⁴⁵ See B 567, 87.

¹⁴⁶ B 516, 43-53; B 610.

¹⁴⁷ A 61; the absence of stirrups makes the charge problematic.

¹⁴⁸ B 626; B 633, 64-6; B 590, 132ff; B 610. ¹⁴⁹ B 574, 6, 94-100.

¹⁵⁰ Hdt. iv.73-5; Pazyryk *kurgans*.

various symbols are also known; this evidence is difficult to interpret in terms of solar, chthonic or shamanistic cults, and we only touch on it here.

Not many cult centres are known: there is a stepped platform in Bactria, a fire temple at Dahan-i Ghulaman, and some structures which are, for convenience, dubbed 'temples' or 'fire-altars'.¹⁵¹ To these can be added the evidence of figurative art: the Oxus Treasure contains representations of figures in local dress decorated with beaded braid, who advance holding bundles of sticks (*barsom*?) (see Pls. Vol., pl. 42);¹⁵² a comparable scene appears on a piece of tapestry from Pazyryk V.¹⁵³ Furthermore, Berossus (*FGrH* 680 F 11) records that Artaxerxes II erected a statue of Anahita at Bactra. Iranian texts give us an oral tradition, so far as we can reconstruct it from the slow Avestan accretions, according to which Aryanem Vaejah, Zoroaster's ancient Aryan homeland, was situated in Central Asia. From then onwards, all the old Iranian beliefs are to be found in Central Asia at one time or another. Unfortunately, representational art and textiles are so rare in Central Asia that we cannot demonstrate, in Achaemenid times, the existence of any definite religion, particularly Zoroastrianism, nor the presence of priestly castes. It is a fact that the whole of East Iranian mythology is linked to a concept of mounted warriors, but we cannot discuss it here, since it is too rich, complex, and so inextricably entangled with subsequent additions and borrowings foreign to Central Asia that it cannot easily be unravelled. This vague and heterogeneous information nevertheless seems to indicate the existence of a classical form of Mazdaism or even Zoroastrianism in the southern part of Central Asia,¹⁵⁴ which, in the border areas of the north and east, existed side by side with a form of Iranian paganism or shamanism.¹⁵⁵

The 'artists' of Central Asia belonged, like all their contemporaries, either to the nomadic or the sedentary communities. They did not shine in the major arts, as witnessed by the Susa charters (DSf, DSz) which mention craftsmen from Ionia, Lydia, Cappadocia, Babylonia, Egypt and Media, but none from further east. Their means of expression was through the minor arts, and, above all, in an oral literary tradition. The minor arts of the nomads are well known: the animal art of the steppes, in metal, and that of textiles, rugs, weaving, felt, wood and leather;¹⁵⁶ the

¹⁵¹ At Kutlug Tepe in Bactria (B 613), at Džanbas Kala in Chorasmia (more recent), at At Chapar in Bactria (B 615). Religious and political centres probably existed among the Saka, B 576.

¹⁵² B 545, 19-23, nos. 48, 51, 70, with pls. xiv-xv.

¹⁵³ B 610, 297 fig. 139.

¹⁵⁴ B 223; B 58; B 19, 1 166-7, 274-6. Characteristic are the absence of necropoleis, fire cults, cult platforms.

¹⁵⁵ Among others, see B 607; B 589. Characteristic are the mythological importance of animals and connexions between funerary architecture and mythology, B 587.

¹⁵⁶ B 525; B 518, 45-55; B 633, 105-19; B 590, 30-82; B 610; B 575; B 569; B 619.

colourful compositions of the Altai and the numerous rock-engravings from Pakistan to Mongolia can be added to the gold and bronze plaques of the steppe art, which decorated dress and armour.

The most 'monumental' Saka objects are the bronze cauldrons and the offering tables or stands.¹⁵⁷ Once again, it is the sedentary people whose crafts are less well known unless we are prepared to accept that some, at least, of the objects in the Oxus Treasure were made locally,¹⁵⁸ especially after the Takht-i Sangin discoveries.¹⁵⁹ However, opinions differ as to the date and interpretation of the various pieces from this important chance find. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Bactrians, on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis, carry worked metal vessels, and we should therefore seriously consider the possibility of the existence of a Bactrian school of goldsmiths between the sixth and fourth centuries.

The evidence for oral literature is both firmer and less precise. Everything does indeed combine to point to there having been a long and continuous tradition of oral literature in Central Asia, but proof of its existence in Achaemenid times is sadly lacking. The tradition is two-fold, and consists of religious and epic poetry. The Gathas of Zoroaster were created, it seems, about 900 B.C., possibly in Chorasmia. Subsequently the Yasht, of which certain parts were composed in eastern Iran (in Bactria?), were progressively added. These poems were committed to writing only at a much later date. They probably deeply influenced the thought and the moral and religious practice of the inhabitants of Central Asia, but in a way to which we have no means of giving precision.¹⁶⁰ In the same way, the Saka epic, traces of which can be found in Herodotus and even exist among the Ossetians of the present, was known in sedentary Iran from a time which we cannot determine.¹⁶¹ The Iranian epic, in which there is a confrontation between Airya and Tuirya (Iran and Turan)¹⁶² which takes place in Central Asia, is to be found in the Avesta in the form of ancient fragments in which the heroic Kayanid kings appear.¹⁶³ Local tradition was responsible for the transmission of this epic, over a period of centuries, to the courts of the Sogdians,¹⁶⁴ Samanids¹⁶⁵ and later of the Ghaznavids,¹⁶⁶ still in Central Asia, where it was written and where it is still rooted in its country of origin by the toponyms which appear there.¹⁶⁷ We may recall once again (see above, p. 168) the Mihr Yasht which described Central Asia as follows: 'the whole

¹⁵⁷ B 534; B 575, 178; discoveries in China.

¹⁵⁸ B 526; B 588, holding that one seal (no. 105) represents Gopatshah with an inscription reading 'Vakshu' or 'Rakshan'; the cylinder seal no. 114 shows a fight between Persians and Saka.

¹⁵⁹ See above n. 60 (Takht-i Sangin). ¹⁶⁰ B 19, I 104-7. ¹⁶¹ B 550; B 535, 57-63.

¹⁶² B 19, I 104-7. ¹⁶³ B 542; B 536. ¹⁶⁴ B 524. ¹⁶⁵ With Daqiqi.

¹⁶⁶ With Firdausi.

¹⁶⁷ E.g. Takht-i Kobad, Takht-i Rostam, Afrasiab, Kej-Kobad-Šah, Shahr-i Zohak: B 598, 215ff.



10. Cylinder-seal from the Oxus Treasure showing Persians fighting Saka. (?)Fifth century B.C. (After B 597A.)

land inhabited by Iranians where gallant rulers organize many attacks, where high, sheltering mountains with ample pasture provide, solicitous for cattle . . . ' The Yasht is dated to the second half of the fifth century B.C.¹⁶⁸ but nevertheless describes an earlier state of affairs when mounted warriors were probably settled in the fertile plains of the eastern satrapies of the Great King.¹⁶⁹ It has been tempting to speak of an ethic of chivalry.¹⁷⁰ In any case, the two oral literary traditions of Central Asia, the religious and the epic, became an integral part of *Iranian* literature. This process may well have started in Achaemenid times.

Central Asia in Achaemenid times was thus a land with an ancient civilization, where a stable and prosperous economy, an important military potential and a rich and powerful oral literature were drawn on by the Persian court, using as intermediary a social hierarchy of 'feudal' type.

¹⁶⁸ B 68A, 3-22.

¹⁶⁹ No text of the period proves it, but the epic must have been transmitted in this period too, and historians agree on the existence of this aspect of the culture of ancient Central Asia.

¹⁷⁰ B 223A; B 535, 50-3; B 583.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

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AASOR Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research
 ABAW Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ABC Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, A. K. Grayson. Locust Valley, 1975
 Abh. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
 Abh. Mainz Geistes-soz. Kl. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz
ABL Assyrian and Babylonian Letters, R. F. Harper, London-Chicago, 1892-1914
 Acta Inst. Ath. R. S. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae = Skrifter utg. av Svenska Institut i Athen
Acta Ir. Acta Iranica
Act. Ant. Hung. Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae
 ADFU Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka
 ADOG Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
Afgh. Stud. Afghan Studies
AJO Archiv für Orientforschung
AHR American Historical Review
AIPhO Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales
AJA American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH American Journal of Ancient History
AJP American Journal of Philology
AJSL(L) American Journal of Semitic Languages (and Literature)
 Akk. Akkadian
AMI Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
Anat. Stud. Anatolian Studies
Anc. Eg. Ancient Egypt (and the East)
ANET Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, 1969
Ann. Serv. Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte

An. Or. *Analecta Orientalia*

(An. Or. 8 = B 438)

ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*

ANSMN *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*

ANSP *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*

Ant. Class. Antiquité classique

AOF *Altorientalische Forschungen*

Arch. Anz. Archäologischer Anzeiger

Arch. Class. Archeologia Classica

Arch. Delt. Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον

Arch. Eph. Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς

Archiv Pap. Archiv für Papyrusforschung

Arch. Rep. Archaeological Reports

Arch. St. Pugliese Archivio storico pugliese

Arkh. Otkr. Arkheologicheskoe Otkrytiya

Ar. Or. Archiv Orientalni

Art. A. Artibus Asiae

AS Assyriological Studies

Ath. Mitt. Athenische Mitteilungen. Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung

Atti Soc. Tosc. Sc. Nat. Atti della Società toscana di scienze naturali residente in Pisa

AUSS Andrews University Seminary Studies

Bagh. Mitt. Baghdader Mitteilungen

BAR British Archaeological Reports

BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BCH Bulletin de correspondance hellénique

BE Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts

(BE 8 = B 377)

Bergk J. Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci I–III. 4th edn. Leipzig, 1878–82

Bi. Ar. Biblical Archaeologist

Bibl. Éc. fr. Ath. et Rome Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome

BICS Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London

BIN Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies

(BIN 1 = B 407)

(BIN 2 = B 408)

Bi. Or. Bibliotheca Orientalis

BJRL Bulletin of the John Rylands Library

BM British Museum

BMQ British Museum Quarterly

Boll. d'Arte Bolletino d'Arte

BOR The Babylonian and Oriental Record

BRM Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan

(BRM 1 = B 379)

BSA *Annual of the British School at Athens*

BSO(A)S *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, University of London*

BSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*

Bull. Inst. fr. Caire *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire*

Bull. Paleon. Ital. *Bulletino di paleontologia italiana*

CAD *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*

CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*

Camb. *Inscriptionen von Cambyses*, J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig, 1890

CBS *Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, University Museum of Philadelphia*

CDAFI *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran*

CHInd *Cambridge History of India*

CHIran *Cambridge History of Iran*

CHJud *Cambridge History of Judaism*

Chron. d'Ég. *Chronique d'Égypte*

CNRS *Centre national de recherches scientifiques*

CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*

CJ *Classical Journal*

Class. et. Med. *Classica et Mediaevalia*

Cl. Phil. *Classical Philology*

Coll. Latomus *Collection Latomus*

Cowley, AP *A. E. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford, 1923

CQ *Classical Quarterly*

CR *Classical Review*

CRAI *Comptes-rendues de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*

CSCA *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*

CT *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*

(CT 55-7 = B 437)

CW *Classical Weekly*

Cyrus *Inscriptionen von Cyrus*, J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig, 1890

Dar. *Inscriptionen von Darius*, J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig, 1897

DGE *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica*, E. Schwyzler. Hildesheim, 1923

Dial. di Arch. *Dialoghi di Archeologia*

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Doc. ant. ital. e romani *Documenti antichi italiani e romani*

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EAA *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, Rome, 1958-

EGF *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, G. Kinkel. Leipzig, 1877

FGrH *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, F. Jacoby. Berlin, 1922—

GCCI II *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions* II, R. P. Dougherty. New Haven, 1933

GGM *Geographi Graeci Minores* I—III, C. Müller. Paris, 1855—82

GM *Göttinger Miszellen*

GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

Hesp. *Hesperia*

Hist. Zeitschr. *Historische Zeitschrift*

HKL *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* I—II, R. Borger. Berlin, 1967—75

HSCP *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*

HTbR *Harvard Theological Review*

HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*

IC *Inscriptiones Creticae*

ICA *Instituut voor Culturele Anthropologie*

IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin, 1873—

IGCH *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, O. Mørkholm and C. M. Kraay. New York, 1973

ILLRP *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Reipublicae* I—II, A. Degrassi. Göttingen, 1957—63

ILN *Illustrated London News*

ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* I—III, H. Dessau. Berlin, 1892—1916

IMKU *Istoriya Materialnaya Kul'tury Uzbekistana*

Inscr. Olymp. *Olympia: die Ergebnisse . . . der Ausgrabung v: Die Inschriften*, W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold. Berlin, 1896

IOS *Israel Oriental Series*

Ir. Ant. *Iranica Antiqua*

Iz. ANTSSR, SON *Izvestiya Akademiyi Nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR, Seriya Obshchestvennykh Nauk*

JA *Journal asiatique*

Jabr. Num. und Geldgesch. *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*

JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*

JDAI *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*

JEAL *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, 'Ex Oriente Lux'*

JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

J. Jewish Stud. *Journal of Jewish Studies*

JNES *Journal of New Eastern Studies*

JNSI *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*

JÖAI *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*

JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

- JRGS *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*
 JSOT *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
 JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
 JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
 JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
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 Komplekskoi Ekspeditsii*
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- OECT *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*
 OIP *Oriental Institute Publication*
 OP *Old Persian*
 Opusc. Rom. *Opuscula Romana*
 Or. *Orientalia*
 Or. Ant. *Oriens Antiquus*
 Or. Suecana *Orientalia Suecana*
- PAE *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
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 Proc. Br. Ac. *Proceedings of the British Academy*
 Przegląd histor. *Przegląd historyczny*
 PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
 PSI *Papiri Greci e Latini*, Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto. 1912—
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 RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
 RB *Revue biblique*
 RBPh *Revue belge de philologie*
 REA *Revue des études anciennes*
 REG *Revue des études grecques*
 REL *Revue des études latines*
 Rend. istit. Lomb. *Rendiconti del r. Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere*
 Rend. Linc. *Rendiconti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*
 Rev. Arch. *Revue archéologique*
 Rev. d'Égyptol. *Revue d'Égyptologie*
 Rev. Hist. *Revue historique*
 Rev. Int. des droits de l'Antiquité *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité*
 Rev. Phil. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
 Rh. Mus. *Rheinisches Museum*
 Riv. di Filol. *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*
 Riv. stud. or. *Rivista degli studi orientali*
 RLA *Real-lexicon der Assyriologie*
 Röm. Mitt. *Römische Mitteilungen. Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
 ROM Royal Ontario Museum
 ROM CT Royal Ontario Museum Studies in Cuneiform Texts
 (ROM CT 2 = B 420)

 SAK *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*
 SOAC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
 SBak. Berlin Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
 SBAW Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
 SBWien Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
 SBWiss. Gesellschaft Sitzungsberichte der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Schweiz. Num. Rundschau *Schweizer Numismatische Rundschau*

SCO *Studi classici ed orientali*

S.E. Seleucid Era

SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, 1923–

SGDI *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* I–IV. H. Collitz and F. Bechtel. Göttingen, 1885–1910

Skt Sanskrit

SO *Symbolae Osloenses*

Sov. Arch. *Sovetskaya Archeologiya*

SPAW *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Academie der Wissenschaften*

SSL *Studi e saggi linguistici*

Stud. Etr. *Studi Etruschi*

Stud. Ir. *Studia Iranica*

Stud. Or. *Studia Orientalia*

SZ *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*

TAPA *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*

TAPS *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*

TAVO *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*

TCL *Textes Cunéiformes de Louvre* XII–XIII, G. Contenau. Ann Arbor, 1935

TKhE *Trudy Khorezmskoi Arkheologo-etnograficheskoi Ekspeditsii*

Tod, GHI M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1946–8

TPS *Transactions of the Philological Society*

Tr. Yu. TAKE *Trudy Yuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Arkheologicheskoi Komplekskoi Ekspeditsii*

TSBA *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*

TSSI *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* I–III, J. C. L. Gibson. Oxford, 1971–82

UCP *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*

UET I *Ur Excavation Texts* I, C. J. Gadd, L. Legrain, S. Smith. London, 1928

UET IV *Ur Excavation Texts* IV, H. H. Figulla. London, 1949

UVB *Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen*

VAS *Vorderasiatische Studien*

VDI *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*

VS III–VI *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* III–VI, A. Ungnad. Leipzig, 1907/8

We. Or. *Die Welt des Orients*

WS *Wiener Studien*

WVDOG *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*

WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

YCS *Yale Classical Studies*

YNER *Yale Near Eastern Researches*

YOS Yale Oriental Studies

(YOS 3 = B 380)

(YOS 7 = B 463)

ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*

ZÄS *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

ZDPV *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

ZKM *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Achaemenid Royal Texts

A?P

DB

DNa

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XV

These texts are generally multilingual. For their Old Persian versions and bibliography see B 110; B 132. When other versions and later texts are involved, aid is given in the context.

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